MEMORANDUM ON NATIONAL LEGISLATION OF INTEREST TO RELIGIOUS GROUPS
issued by the
Friends Committee on National Legislation
2111 Florida Avenue, N. W.
Washington 8, D. C.

Washington Letter No. 25 (December number) November 23, 1945

SHALL TENS OF THOUSANDS DIE BECAUSE WE WITHHOLD FOOD AND FUNDS?

"The first winter of peace in Europe will be a deathlike struggle against hunger, disease, and confusion, unequaled since the mercenary armies of the Thirty Years War plowed furrows of misery across the land," reports C. L. Sulzberger to the New York Times this week. "Almost twenty-five million bewildered, driven people are milling back and forth across the shattered continent."

Shipments of food to Europe remain wholly inadequate to prevent starvation. The summary of need given in the October Newsletter still holds good, except for shipments in the meantime. The real crisis is in the countries served by UNRRA (Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Albania, Greece, the Ukrainian and White Russian Republics, and after January 1, Italy and Austria.) Probably the worst situation is in Germany, Finland, Italy, and Japan, not supplied by UNRRA. A Red Cross report summarized by Worldover Press reports that the people of Vienna are trying to exist on less than 800 calories a day per person, about $\frac{1}{4}$ of what the average American eats. From a section in Berlin comes the report that the infant mortality rate is nearing 100 per cent, meaning that nearly all the babies are dying within a year of birth. The combination of little food and practically no fuel in bombed-out wrecks of homes foreshadows a winter of appalling tragedy. The situation in the countries west of Germany is improving. Although their diet is meager and usually unbalanced, most people in these Western European countries get enough at least to sustain hope. It seems that these countries (including Great Britain) have either money, or are trying to arrange credits to buy imports sufficient to insure their citizens a subsistence diet, but will they get both the credits and the food?

On November 8 Secretary of Agriculture Anderson announced allocations of United States food to these Western European countries for the last quarter of this year. These amounts are larger than had been expected. Shipments for the same period to the UNRRA countries are much smaller, despite the fact that the combined populations of the UNRRA countries is equally large and their needs much more desperate. Shipments to Italy (until UNRRA takes over) are lower, and to Germany and Austria, negligible. UNRRA is in danger of not getting even the small amount allocated to it during the last quarter and may be able to ship even less next year because it is running out of funds. Already it has had to cut down on its shipments of food and other supplies, because the United States has not yet appropriated $550,000,000 of the amount it promised last year. Next year UNRRA will need an additional appropriation as explained in the enclosed sheet. Even if UNRRA promptly receives all the funds it requests, it will barely be able to assure a diet of 2000 calories a day per person in the countries it serves, far below current Western European standards and less than 2/3 of the American diet. Without new funds UNRRA will fold up, its job half done, and Eastern Europe will lapse into real starvation.

The $550,000,000 appropriation is at present in the Senate Appropriation Committee, having passed the House with an amendment attached forbidding the use of the funds in any country to which American newspaper men were not allowed access. While freedom of the press is laudable, it is not right to use UNRRA as an American weapon to obtain a political objective, especially when hungry people without any say in the matter are the victims. The new UNRRA appropriation bill ($1,350,000,000) is in the House Foreign Affairs Committee. It has a long, hard road ahead if it is to pass, since it must pass the House Appropriation Committee also, and the two Houses of Congress before UNRRA gets the money with which it should be buying food now for shipments this winter.

Burton Crane cabled from Tokyo November 17 that Japanese leaders are begging the Allied authorities for permission to import next year 3,400,000 tons of food, including 1,246,000 tons of wheat from Canada and the United States, and goes on to say that the whole solution of the problem of food, black markets and food riots is dependent on whether the Allies grant food purchases by credits publicly, or allow the Japanese to attempt to arrange credit privately. Does the United States believe in democracy enough to share its food, not wheat alone but especially protective foods such as meat, butter, lard, cooking oils and fats, with the victims of Nazism and fascism and totalitarianism in Germany, Italy, and Japan?

It's Up To You

If there was ever a time for the Friends to speak out, it is now. Among other things you can write and get your friends to write to:

The President, the Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson, Secretary of State James F. Byrnes, your Senators and Congressman urging that the Army feed civilians in zones of occupation in Germany and Japan until civilian agencies or UNRRA (now prohibited from feeding in those countries) can take over the job. The Army has the food or could get it and has the transportation, including trucks and gasoline. Do we want to breed a Third World War now in people's hearts?

Your Senators and Representatives that you want both appropriations for UNRRA passed immediately without free press and other restrictive amendments. Why shouldn't America lead instead of trail in our humanitarian responsibility?

The Secretary of Agriculture, Clinton P. Anderson, urging that allocations, particularly of protective foods, be increased for the first quarter of 1946.

HOUSE DRIVE TO ENACT PEACETIME CONSCRIPTION BEGINS

Following the statements of President Truman and Chief of Staff, General Marshall, the House Military Affairs Committee has opened hearings on the May Bill, H. R. 515 (see Newsletter 15 for full text), providing for one year's compulsory military training for every young man. Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson, General Dwight D. Eisenhower, Admiral Ernest J. King, and representatives of the Women's Division of the Citizens Committee for Military Training of Young Men, Inc., and the Veterans of Foreign Wars are among those who have already testified. Spokesmen for the American Legion, the Chamber of Commerce, and further representatives of the Army and Navy are expected to appear next week. Church, farm, labor, educational, and other organizations opposed to universal military training are tentatively scheduled from December 3 to 15, after which the Committee now plans to recess for the holidays. However, the newspapers report that Congress may not adjourn until December 20 so this schedule may be altered. Chairman Andrew J. May has announced that there will probably be no final action in the House until next year.

Many members of Congress seem to be in a waiting mood, wanting to hear from the country and to get the full picture of the Army, Navy, and Air Force requests for post-war personnel and appropriations before they commit themselves finally on a year's training. On the other hand, the President, the Chief of Staff, and the Army and Navy heads have called for action now.

Men and Dollars

Admiral King testified that the Navy now plans 500,000 enlisted men and 58,000 officers in the post war Navy, plus 100,000 Marines and 8,000 officers, or 666,000 men in the Navy and Marine Corps, which with a combat Navy of 1082 ships would cost an estimated 3½ billion dollars per year. Secretary of War Patterson estimated that compulsory military training

for 1,000,000 eighteen-year-olds would cost $1,700,000,000 plus $2,500,000,000 for the Regular Army, or $4,200,000,000 per year for the post war Army. If universal military training were not adopted, our country would need instead a standing Army of 1,700,000 men at a cost of $8,400,000,000 per year, according to the Secretary. General Henry H. Arnold, Commander-in-Chief of the Army Air Force, in his report to the Secretary of War released November 11, recommended a peacetime Air Force of 400,000 men, at an unestimated cost.

Compare these figures with the expenditures in 1942 on education in the whole United States, which amounted to only $1,557,402,248 above the grade school level :

Public Expenditures 1942		
Secondary	Higher	Total
$868,735,060	$329,472,165	$1,198,207,225
Private Expenditures 1942		
66,000,000	293,195,023	359,195,023

"Russia Wants Friendship With The United States" - Eisenhower

Admiral King believed that the peacetime strength of the post war Navy could be secured by voluntary recruiting, but advocated compulsory training for 225,000 men yearly for the Naval Reserve to be called out in case of national emergency to man the Navy for the first six months, plus an extended Naval R O T C program in the colleges.

General Eisenhower declared that a militarily strong United States including an adequately trained and large civilian reserve was the best protection against another war. If such a war came it might make the difference between victory and defeat, according to the General. When asked against whom we are arming, General Eisenhower declared, "There will never be a war between Great Britain and the United States." When asked about Russia he replied, "The Russians would have nothing to gain from a war with the United States. Nothing guides Russian policy so much as a desire for friendship with the United States."

No suggestion was made by the military heads that the United States might lead in a movement for worldwide abolition of conscription, or that we spend part or all of those vast sums in a program of relief and reconstruction to help peoples back on their feet again. Nor have they explained how other nations can be safe from militarism under conscription in their countries.

More Military Training In Colleges - May Be Offered As Compromise

Foreshadowing a possible compromise measure in Congress, the National Defense Committee of the American Legion recommended to their annual convention in Chicago this week four months basic military training for every youth under 20, and eight months specialized training, including alternatives of 2½ years in the National Guard, four years in the Organized Reserves, or advance Army or Naval R O T C in college for two years. Talk is increasing in Congress of substitutes for a year's military training, including a greatly enlarged training program in schools and colleges. General Eisenhower in a strong statement to the American Legion November 20 urged them to support one year of continuous training, asserting that no one feared a strong United States.

The Gallup Poll reports on November 18 that their latest survey covering the period November 2 to 12 registers replies to the question, "In the future, do you think every able-bodied young man should be required to take military and naval training for one year?" Yes, 75%; No, 21%; and No Opinion, 4%, or 5% more in favor than in late October before President Truman asked Congress in person for a compulsory training bill. This indicates the need for much more widespread discussion and education in the country among your neighbors and fellow-citizens. Have you done your part in your community?

Some Things To Do About Military Training

Congressmen report their mail in favor of peacetime conscription picking up since the President's speech and the American Legion drive for enactment of such legislation. Now is the time such a measure must be defeated, and it must be defeated in Congress by public opinion. Urge your friends to write not only their Representative but other Representatives from your state, and members of the House Military Affairs Committee (see list in last Newsletter) calling for United States leadership toward worldwide reduction of armaments, for worldwide abolition of conscription, and for a program of relief and rehabilitation instead of a cut-throat race in arms. Ask how the proposed military budget is to be raised and what is going to happen to education, to public health, to social security, to research, and other much needed programs for a healthy and secure civilization.

Tell your friends about House Joint Resolution 269 by Representative Mathew M. Neely of West Virginia. This resolution is designed as a substitute for the officially recommended legislation for universal military training and would authorize and request the President to invite all the members of the United Nations to participate in a conference to be held in Washington at an early date to take appropriate action to enable the people of all the friendly countries of the world to utilize atomic energy in the pursuits of peace and to outlaw it as an instrumentality of destruction in time of war; to provide for the drastic reduction in the armament and the military personnel of all the great powers of the earth. Write to Representative Neely encouraging him and to your Congressman, urging such a program rather than compulsory military training.

F E P C

Because of reduced appropriations last summer, all but three regional Fair Employment Practice Committee offices are being closed by December 15. Last week the Senate Subcommittee from the Education and Labor Committee recommended returning the United States Employment Service offices to the states for operation. This means total reversion to discrimination in employment unless the Permanent F E P C bill is passed immediately, according to Mrs. Anna Hedgeman, Executive Secretary of the National Council for a Permanent F E P C. The National Council is asking that wires go to President Truman, Senator Wallace White, and your own Senators requesting an immediate answer on a proposed date for Senate floor action on S. 101 which is high on the Senate calendar and could be called up any time the Administration and the Republican leadership in the Senate are willing to do it. Senate support for cloture is also being sought to prevent a filibuster when it comes to the floor for consideration.

CLAIMS BILL INTRODUCED FOR C P S DEATH

Identical claims bills have been introduced in the Senate and House (S.1595 and H.R. 4691) for the compensation of the family of Gilbert Dugan, member of Civilian Public Service, who died of infantile paralysis in the Yale University Hospital while engaged in research on infantile paralysis. Will you write your encouragement to Senator Brian McMahon, Senate Office Building, and to Representative James P. Geelan, House Office Building, for their action in this regard? It may be two or three months before the Claims Committees pass on these bills.

E. Raymond Wilson

Cost : The Newsletter costs $2.00 per year, with supplements, for printing and mailing only. It is sent to contributors of this or larger amounts as a regular service.

UNRRA — THE ONE HOPE

At long last we shall have a Christmas in a world at peace. It should be a time of hope and rejoicing. For millions UNRRA offers the only hope of survival through this winter. Without it Christmas will be a day of misery and despair in many lands.

At last the supplies are here and shipping space is available. But one more obstacle must be overcome before UNRRA can fulfill its mission of mercy. UNRRA will have to stop with its work half done unless it obtains more funds. Without the funds the supplies cannot move. November shipments had to be reduced. If Congress delays voting funds for UNRRA until mid-November its pipelines will be drained by Christmas. Overseas, thousands may be starving on Christmas Day, as we in America sing "Peace on Earth, Good Will to Men."

I. What Is UNRRA?

UNRRA is the first operating agency created by the United Nations. The U. S. is one of 47 nations working together to relieve the suffering caused by the devastation of war. All member nations contribute to the expense, but the supplies are paid for by the uninvaded nations in proportion to their 1943 national income. 90% of the funds for supply are spent in the country of the donor. Thus the U. S. contribution is largely used to purchase supplies in the U. S. for UNRRA. The money does not leave the country.

UNRRA is governed by a Council of official representatives of the 47 nations, which meets at regular intervals. Administrative responsibility is vested in the Director General, Herbert H. Lehman. UNRRA has a vital though temporary function to help provide emergency supplies and services where most needed.

II. What People Does UNRRA Help?

UNRRA helps only those nations invaded by the enemy which do not have enough funds or credits to pay for the immediate essential needs of their own people. It cannot give assistance unless it is requested to do so by a government. UNRRA now helps Greece, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Albania, Italy, Ethiopia, China and the Philippines. It has also been asked to provide supplies for Byelo-Russia, the Ukraine, Korea and Austria.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch

THE ONE HOPE

III. What Kind of Help Does UNRRA Provide?

1. *Supplies*:

Due to shortage of shipping up to April 1, 1945, UNRRA had sent only 20 million dollars worth of supplies from the U. S. In striking contrast by October 1, 1945 UNRRA's shipments to liberated areas had passed the

V. What Are the Main Obstacles UNRRA Has to Overcome?

1. *Unavoidable Delays*: UNRRA was not permitted to operate in any area until requested by the military or invited by the established government. The military were to care for the emergency civilian needs in the meantime. No one could foresee just when UNRRA would be called on to operate. Last year VE-Day was expected earlier tnan it came, yet UNRRA had to have teams ready and trained for the job. Furthermore the confused political situation caused delay in the new governments reaching agreements with UNRRA. It is natural that political interests in starving countries sometimes try to use food supplies to their own advantage. UNRRA has had to guard constantly against any arrangements that would permit the use of relief as a political weapon. While these matters beyond the control of UNRRA were being settled, it was a tragic experience for many UNRRA workers to sit by and wait to go on the job.

2. *Lack of Supplies and Shipping*: Last spring, two further difficulties frustrated UNRRA's plans. UNRRA had funds but could not purchase many essential supplies. Frequently allocations made to it were taken over by the military. The other major difficulty was shipping. Only after VE-Day was UNRRA able to obtain more than a fraction of the shipping it needed. Much of the delay for which UNRRA was in no way responsible created the impression that UNRRA was not doing its job.

3. *Administrative Difficulties*: UNRRA was set up just at the time when manpower was the shortest. Now that the war is over UNRRA has secured the services of outstanding administrators from several nations. UNRRA's staff is international. The selection and training of competent administrators or field workers from many different nations was a hard problem to solve to the satisfaction of the

20 million dollars worth of supplies from the U. S. In striking contrast by October 1, 1945 UNRRA's shipments to liberated areas had passed the 2 million ton mark and their value was over half a billion dollars. Almost half of the total tonnage was food, though farm machinery, seeds, fertilizers, insecticides, livestock and other supplies were provided to help the stricken people produce their own food. Trucks, mules, rolling stock and other equipment were sent to speed restoration of inland transportation. It also provided 76,000 tons of clothing, textiles and footwear, including the 150 million pounds of used clothing collected in the U. S. last spring, (almost all of which will have been distributed by Christmas). Machinery and spare parts desperately needed for civilian services and the making of consumer goods abroad have been sent. UNRRA has also shipped almost 8,000 tons of medical and sanitation supplies.

2. *Services*:

In addition to its programs of emergency feeding, clothing, shelter, transportation, public utility repairs, and other measures of immediate assistance to the countries it supplies, UNRRA has undertaken many different services, the most important of which may be grouped under the following categories:

a. *Health*: By agreement between the nations, UNRRA has assisted all the liberated nations (not just those in which UNRRA operates) in preventing epidemics and in undertaking other health measures. Its bi-monthly bulletin on diseases and epidemics throughout the world helps health and medical officers to prevent the spread of disease. Its specific health programs, such as malaria control in Greece through the use of DDT have been most successful.

b. *Agricultural Rehabilitation*: UNRRA is helping the devastated countries feed themselves. In addition to supplying the means for farmers to grow more food, UNRRA has given advice through sending agricultural specialists abroad. In the case of China, it is giving technical training to Chinese so that they can return to China with the latest scientific agricultural knowledge.

c. *Displaced Persons*: One of UNRRA's biggest jobs, requiring the largest proportion of its field staff but only a small amount of its funds, has been caring for and helping resettle the unfortunate millions uprooted by the war. Since the spring of 1944, UNRRA has been operating six large camps in the Middle East, housing 40,000 refugees. Many of these people have now been repatriated. In Germany, UNRRA assisted the Army in caring for and sending homeward 5,362,000 nationals or about 80% of the 6½ million enslaved people found in the American, British and French zones. UNRRA is operating assembly centers and has just assumed all responsibility for displaced persons work there.

IV. How Does UNRRA Operate?

UNRRA receives estimates of the need in each of the countries asking for assistance. It then scales these requirements down to fit proportionately within its total budget. Availability of supplies and transportation facilities are also considered. The recipient country takes title to these supplies when delivered. The distribution of relief is administered in each country according to the agreement signed with UNRRA, providing among other things for no discrimination as to race, religion or political belief. UNRRA maintains observers and advisors in each country to see that the terms of the agreement are kept. In the case of any local violation, the government is warned by UNRRA to correct the situation. If this is not done, it is reported to the Central Committee of the UNRRA Council and assistance to that country or area may be withdrawn.

tion and training of competent administrators or field workers from many different nations was a hard problem to solve to the satisfaction of the various member nations. The language difficulty, the wide range of salary scale between nations and other similar discrepancies had to be overcome. The fact that UNRRA's supplies were being distributed in nations having different currencies complicated the accounting system which has now been reorganized and approved by the UNRRA nations.

4. *Present Bottleneck—Lack of Funds*: UNRRA has overcome many obstacles. It now has a trained staff in the field. Its new method of operation has eliminated a great deal of red-tape and other delays. The necessary shipping is now available. Supplies could be purchased but UNRRA's funds are running out. President Truman has made very clear that he considers UNRRA's requests for additional funds "fully justified" and that it is the responsibility of the U. S. Congress to take action at once.

VI. Why Does UNRRA Need New Funds?

When UNRRA was established in November, 1943, the information as to the probable needs could not be accurately estimated. There were hopes that the war in Europe might be over in 1944. The additional months of conflict greatly increased the needs. The total cost of relief and reconstruction to the nations of the world is estimated around 200 billion dollars. The UNRRA funds originally asked from the member nations totalled less than 2 billion dollars. Additional funds are necessary to provide for expanded programs and new responsibilities both in Europe and the Far East agreed to by the delegates of the 47 nations last summer. The ports of China have been opened. That country bled by seven long years of war richly deserves its share of assistance. The uninvaded member nations have therefore been requested to make a second contribution of 1% of their '43 national incomes. The two contributions from the U. S., if appropriated in full by Congress, would total $2,700,000,000 which is 2% of our national income in 1943. When the U. S. alone conducted the relief operations after World War I, it contributed 4% of its 1919 national income. Then other nations paid about ⅛ of the costs while now they are paying over ¼.

VII. What Return Will We Get On This Investment?

At a time when efforts are being made to reduce government expenses, the funds requested for UNRRA may seem large. But that amount is only what we spent on ten days of war. To donate our share to UNRRA is far more than a matter of humanitarian generosity. It is an opportunity to make a sound investment in both peace and future markets for our products. A very considerable amount of the foods to be purchased by UNRRA from the U. S. may soon be in surplus unless in part exported.

The brutal fact is that most Europeans are being less well fed after liberation than when enslaved by the Axis. This will be a winter of deep despair unless we contribute out of our comparative plenty. Desperate men, hungry men may well turn from democracy and use desperate measures. Now more than ever our national security depends upon friendship and understanding between nations. If there were no higher motive, self-preservation alone would demand support of UNRRA.

HAROLD WESTON, *Director*
Food For Freedom

Single copies—5c. Low rates for large orders. Printed by Food For Freedom, 1707 H Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

RAYMOND SWING REPORTS ON FOOD

SURPLUS HERE
STARVATION THERE

Quite a number of letters have reached me lately that suggest that their writers are not sleeping well because of anxiety for the food situation in Europe and the Far East, and our responsibility for it. They have cause for anxiety. One cause is a statement issued by the Department of Agriculture recently which spoke of reducing food production in this country so as to maintain prices.

Back to Scarcity—or Ploughing Under

That sounds as though we are going back to an economy of scarcity. Of course, the fact is that we never have emerged from it. We have only talked about the economy of plenty. And in a time when the world is short of food, we are not going to produce all we can because there will not be what on the market is known as a demand. That doesn't indicate that there won't be a demand for food. It merely is saying that some people will not be in a position to buy it, not only abroad, but in this country too.

"If Financial Arrangements Are Made"

President Truman told a delegation which discussed the food crisis with him that "if financial arrangements are made," we shall ship nearly two and a half million tons of food to Europe during the final quarter of this year. To say, "If financial arrangements are made," means that some of those who get the food must negotiate loans. It does not mean that they can get what they need. It means that they get what they think they can undertake to borrow. So at a time when many Americans are willing to continue rationing, and to undergo a certain amount of sacrifice for the sake of hungry allies in Europe, there is this disconcerting talk of reducing production so as to maintain food prices. Granted, the reduction is not going to be in the items where there are shortages. It is going to be where there are surpluses.

But one is entitled to ask, is there any genuine surplus? How can there be more food in the world than is needed, when the total amount of food produced this year is below the prewar average? For that is the fact attested by another branch of the Department of Agriculture. It estimates that the global deficiency this year, taking into account 000 tons are needed by continental Europe, 2,000,000 by the Soviet Union, 2,000,000 by North Africa and 3,500,000 by the Far East. That is the need. No one can say how much of it is going to be met. All we know is that the countries will borrow what they feel they can afford, and that UNRRA will take some care of those who can't borrow at least enough care to prevent widespread starvation.

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ATOMIC BOMB OVER EUROPE

United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration

And that brings me to the subject of UNRRA. This great mutual enterprise of merciful nations does not enjoy a reputation equal to its mission. That is due in part to the carping criticism that always attends a big, extemporised bureaucratic job set up in wartime. It is due to mistakes that have been made, most of them trivial, a few less so. It also is due in large measure to the fact that the UNRRA operates now, just after the war, when everybody's tension relaxes, when interest wanes, when frayed nerves lose their restraint, and when good will is below par.

The point is not that UNRRA is imperfect, which it is, the point is that UNRRA is an agency that has a job to do that can hardly be imagined, it is so vital and important. It is not only a job to satisfy the humane instincts of modern times, but a job to keep some kind of foundations under a crumbling society in many lands. If great numbers of people starve to death, or die of under-nourishment, that not only is bad for the morale of civilized men everywhere, it is a political fact of the gravest import. It spells the overthrow of law and order, the delay of recovery, and in terms of our own national life, it delays our recovery too. And since we are the wealthy country, the only great creditor country, and a country with surpluses, it injures our standing. So UNRRA should be judged by the work it has to do, and if it can be strengthened by changes, so much the better, so long as it is strengthened and not weakened.

This is said with two factors in mind. One is that Congress has been asked to vote $550,000,000 to UNRRA at once, and the other that it will be asked to vote another $1,350,000,000 to it in the near future. It is confusing for the public to hear about the two figures. It should be told that UNRRA had

total amount of food produced this year is below the prewar average. For that is the fact attested by another branch of the Department of Agriculture. It estimates that the global deficiency this year, taking into account the increase of population, is ten per cent as compared with the average from 1935 to 1939.

Drought Increases Food Shortage

The deficiency is concentrated in three parts of the world, Europe, North Africa and the Far East. The Western Hemisphere has increased production while China and India, which normally consume about forty per cent of the world's food, are about at the prewar level. The deficiency in Europe and North Africa is due in part to the war, in part to one of the severest droughts in modern times. North Africa normally ships 450,000 tons of wheat to France. This year it must import 1,900,000 tons of wheat, and France gets no wheat from there. That is due to the drought. Italy also has suffered from it acutely, so has Greece. Italy lost more than half of its wheat crop.

There is nothing whatever wrong about asking a country which can borrow to pay for the food that it is buying in this country. But take France, as an example of what can happen. It has negotiated a loan with the Export-Import bank for $550,000,000. Only a hundred million of this is for consumers' goods, so that is the maximum there can be for food. It is not what the French need. It is what they feel they can afford without upsetting their program for rehabilitation. The infant mortality rate in France is seventy-five per 1000. The French consumption of fats and oils is just over thirteen pounds per person per year. Ours is forty pounds, Twenty pounds is a minimum to maintain health. So while France is getting all it is asking for, it cannot afford to ask all that it needs.

Countries Able to Borrow

The case is similar for Belgium, Holland and Norway. They are on the point of closing credits with the Export-Import bank for $50,000,000 each. These are the countries judged to be able to borrow. But fifty millions will not be enough to tide over the winter in safety, let alone comfort. Norway, for instance, declined to take 100,000 tons of coal which it might have had, because it felt it could not reduce its program for rehabilitation even to that extent. Yet the homes in Norwegian towns this winter will not be heated.

However, the loans to these three countries are hung up for the present because we have a law saying that American goods contracted for under loans of this kind have to be shipped abroad in American vessels. Holland, Norway and Belgium all have shipping of their own, and they can't afford to pay for the use of American ships.

It should be understood that there are two categories of countries which will have food and supplies from their allies and neighbors. There are those who can borrow, and those who can't. Those who can't borrow have their relief from UNRRA. I have shown that those who can borrow don't necessarily get what they need. I have made no mention yet of Great Britain, for the reason that negotiations for its supply of food are bound up with the large credit now under discussion in Washington.

Of the world's food deficiency, which comes up to 35,000,000 tons of food, 9,500,000 tons are what is needed by the United Kingdom. 18,000,000 to UNRRA at once, and the other that it will be asked to vote another $1,350,000,000 to it in the near future. It is confusing for the public to hear about the two figures. It should be told that UNRRA had a program for this year, which the United States had a full part in formulating, and which called for appropriations from member countries of the United Nations. It has been able to complete all of this program with the exception of $597,000,000. And of this amount the United States is short $550,000,000. This is the sum authorized by Congress last year, but which was not appropriated. It is needed to complete the job assigned to UNRRA for the rest of 1945, and to provide a small carry-over for the beginning of the new year.

The larger figure mentioned, the $1,350,000,000, is the final appropriation which will close the books of UNRRA. It will do the work scheduled for next year in Europe, and then in the Far East till the Spring of 1947.

Expanded Programs of UNRRA

UNRRA has two new programs to tackle in Europe, one in Italy, one in Austria. In both countries the needs are extreme. The Italians estimated their requirements at nearly half a billion dollars, which obviously is far more than they can expect to receive. Then there will be programs in Formosa and Korea, and the problem of China remains to be dealt with.

The needs of China come to around $3,500,000,000 which covers rehabilitation as well as food. The Chinese have greatly reduced the sum which they hope to have appropriated by UNRRA. They have cut it to $950,000,000, and it will have to be cut still more before UNRRA can fit it into its budget.

Need for Popular Support

I have spoken of two appropriations before Congress as though that body is ready to make them, and the limited—and I think inadequate—programs are sure to be carried through. That is not a foregone conclusion. Only if the American people really care, and make their solicitude known to Congress, and do it with emphasis and persistence, can one bank on Congress making funds available to the Export-Import bank as needed and then to UNRRA for those nations who are unable to borrow. If people have enough sense of their self-interest, to begin with, and then of their brotherly obligations, and if they share their convictions and desires with those who legislate on their behalf, then the minimum program for the prevention of starvation and disaster will be carried through.

But it will be only a minimum program. It can be stated that the program will not require any privation or sacrifice of the American standard of living. Maybe that fact needs to be stressed for the benefit of any who resent seeing things done for foreigners, even if they have been allies, and are the victims of a war whose victory has brought us the supreme power in the world.

I started out today to answer the question—which I found implicit in the letters I was getting—whether one is entitled to sleep with good conscience in view of conditions in Europe and the Far East, and what we are doing. The answer to the question is this: if we lend freely enough to those nations which can afford to borrow, and vote our share of what UNRRA has set out to spend, yes. But it depends somewhat on the conscience.

Broadcast by Mr. Swing, October 9, 1945—American Broadcasting Company. Printed by Food For Freedom—Single copies 5c. Low rates for large orders.
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